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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the findings from a study designed to determine the relationship of student racial prejudice to the classroom dimensions of student performance, feelings of personal adequacy, perceptions of classroom working conditions, and teacher influence in sixteen racially mixed classes. The techniques employed were paper-pencil instruments, classroom observations, and interviews. Findings revealed that student racial prejudice appeared to be most strongly related to students' perceptions of the existence of common goals and teachers' attempts to institute this condition; student's self concept of academic ability and the equality of black and white student achievement levels; the extent to which students sat among each other interracially and the extent to which teachers placed importance upon and attempted to institute the condition of cooperation. These findings may have significance for curricular design in racially mixed environments and for pre and inservice education of teacher interns and experienced teachers. (Author/AM)

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THE RELATIONSHIP OF STUDENT RACIAL PREJUDICE TO A VARIETY OF CLASSROOM DIMENSIONS IN SIXTEEN RACIALLY MIXED CLASSES

by

George E. Olson

Technical Report #13

Research and Development Center
College of Education
Roosevelt University

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George E. Olson

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Chapter I

Background of the Problem

In the performance of their socializing function, schools have acted as assimilators of differing cultures into the American way of life. American society has more readily assimilated and accepted peoples who relinquished their culturally distinguishing qualities. Where people have differed physically, as in skin color, discrimination has been the more common norm. Once established, the discriminative practices have proved resistant to change. Schools represent one environment where attempts are being made to decrease racial discrimination. The broad issue surrounding the present study concerns the different prescriptions for how this task should be attempted, and at a more basic level involves the question of which student and classroom variables are important to the success or failure of such prescriptions. The basic goal of this study is to produce findings which will contribute to more viable strategies of classroom integration than may presently exist.

Because events of recent years concerning classroom integration define a general context for the study, they will be summarized briefly. Over the past ten years, little satisfaction has been gained from attempts to integrate black and white students in classrooms. Following the Civil Rights Act of 1964 up until the late 1960's, many school districts throughout the nation began the process of desegragating their previously racially segregated schools. In the late 1960's, during the emergence of growing ethnic pride, various educators sought to expose the implicit racist assumptions contained within the assimilationist ideology. Of primary concern were "the ethical as well as the educational implications of policies that seem to devalue people who differ from the dominant group." (Epps, 1974) Much discontent was based upon the possible

negative consequences of strategies of integration grounded in such policies.

Dissatisfaction was also expressed with the inequality of positive outcomes of racially mixed classes. The demand for equal opportunity has evolved from the early idea of providing equally equipped schools for all children to a present desire for equality of educational outcomes in student achievement. In short, there is now a growing demand among minorities for equal educational benefits, and positive outcomes are now defined in these terms.

Both the potentially negative and unsatisfactory outcomes of contemporary integration strategies indicate the possible existence of deficiencies within or connected with the strategies themselves. These deficiencies may be found in the rationale and philosophy comprising the strategy, in the classroom activity dictated (or not dictated) by the strategies, or in a combination of these aspects. Suggestions for overcoming these negative aspects have been focused in these areas, and two proponents of differing solutions to this problem are Edgar Epps and Wilbur Brookover. Those persons supporting Epps propose that more positive outcomes (more nearly equal benefits) for racially mixed classes be obtained through reassessment of the ideology underlying present desegregation strategies. Brookover and his supporters suggest that the variables associated with high and low student achievement be identified and then manipulated in order to raise achievement among minority groups.

Epps and Brookover speak for many educators in summarizing the various aspects of the issues of discrepant educational outcomes for black and white students in desegregated classes. It was the explication of this issue which gave rise to the following questions which state in general terms the problem of this study:

1) What are the variables present in racially mixed classes that are associated with equal or unequal outcomes for black and white students?

2) Are there particular classroom conditions that are conducive to making classroom experiences and outcomes more similar for black and white students?

To begin to address these questions, studies were reviewed that attempted to identify how black and white students differed in their classroom performance and attitudes. In the findings of these studies, particular aspects received most emphasis: students' feelings of adequacy in the classroom, the influence of classroom working conditions, measures of student performance, the importance of the teachers' influence, and the possible effects of student racial prejudice. These findings were utilized to structure this inquiry, and the variables chosen for study were derived primarily from the above areas of emphasis. The hypothesized relationships among the variables have been formulated from suggestions in the literature concerning black and white student differences and attempts by this author to synthesize those aspects commonly found but not necessarily related in such studies. The specific variables studied are identified in subsequent sections. The findings and conclusions from this study are limited in that data will be gathered from only 16 racially mixed classes. To the extent that findings from this limited sample aid in the management and methods of analyzing racially mixed classrooms, they will be significant in suggesting aspects needing further study with a larger and more diverse sample.

The following sections spell out in more detail the literature concerning black and white student differences, the rationale for study, and the design and total list of variables to be studied. This introductory section has attempted to provide a description of the origin and broader social framework of the problem of this study and to relate in general terms the primary intentions.

Chapter II

Review of Literature

The literature concerning racially mixed classrooms was reviewed with a particular purpose in mind: to utilize the findings to suggest individual and classroom variables which may be associated with similar and differential outcomes for black and white students. Literature pertinent to the proposed inquiry includes studies that have attempted to find reasons for differences in educational outcomes for black and white students and that have attempted to specify conditions for improving and equalizing those outcomes. Many of the findings concerning these reasons are conflicting, and a general discussion of these conflicts will clarify the manner in which they bear upon the problem of this study.

A commonality shared among many studies of black and white student differences exists in the student characteristics which have been analyzed. These include some measure of student self concept, achievement, and socioeconomic status (SES); some estimation of interracial activity and its relationship to student outcomes; some description of the classroom working conditions or climate and teachers' influence upon climate; and indicators of student prejudice. Pertinent findings will be discussed as they are organized around these commonly measured features.

Black and White Student Self Concept, Achievement, and SES

Numerous studies support the contention that achievement (as measured by test scores and grades) of black students is generally lower than that of white students (Clark, 1965; Coleman, 1966; Rainwater and Yancey, 1967; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1971). While Rosenberg and

Simmons relied upon in-class grades for their conclusions, achievement tests provided the bulk of data for studies such as the Coleman Report. In addition to these general findings, Rosenberg and Simmons found that the gap between white and black institutionally measured achievement increased as students grew older.

Many of the above studies gathered a majority of their data from segregated classes. Additional studies from desegregated classrooms showed that while the achievement level of white students changed very little upon entering desegregated classrooms, achievement of black students was greater in bi-racial classrooms than in segregated ones (Weinberg, 1970; Coleman, 1966; Haggstrom, 1964; Bouma and Hoffman, 1968; Grant, 1972). Attempts to find ways to equalize achievement outcomes have inspired research aimed towards identifying factors that differentiate achievement among races. Prior to the studies cited, many educators had proposed the hypothesis that the level of achievement was related directly to student self esteem. It was based upon the expectation that the reported lower SES and poorer educational conditions of black students would result in a lowering of their self esteem. Support for this view is found in studies conducted in the 1950's concerning the preference in black children for objects and people with lighter skin color (Clark and Clark, 1946; Goodman, 1952; Landreth and Johnson, 1953; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958). Many studies in the 1960's concluded that black students in black environments did indeed have lower self esteem than white students in white environments (Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951; Pettigrew, 1964; Proshansky and Newton, 1968; Jessup, 1964; Haggstrom, 1964; Weinberg, 1970; Green, 1972, Coleman, 1966; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967).

A number of studies conducted subsequently, however, have found black student self esteem to be equal or higher than white self esteem (Carter, 1968;

DeBlassie and Healy, 1970; Soares and Soares, 1971; Hara, 1972), and such findings have inspired a re-evaluation of earlier studies. Rosenberg and Simmons reviewed studies conducted between 1960 and 1968 and concluded that they showed little difference in black and white self esteem or showed considerably higher black student than white student self esteem. More recent studies have shown a small decrease in black student self esteem upon entrance to desegregated classroom environments (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1971; Power and Fuller, 1970; Henderson, 1972; 1973).

In an attempt to clarify such conflicts, Brookover (1973) fragmented self esteem into general self esteem and self concept of academic ability. Utilizing self report instruments and in-class grades, he found a high correlation between achievement and self concept of academic ability among black students and among white students. He also reported a higher self concept of academic ability among black students than white students in instances where black and white achievement level was nearly equal (including high achieving black students). While self concept of academic ability may provide a characteristic that relates similarly to black and white student achievement, Brookover's findings emphasize even more strongly that it can no longer be assumed that low achieving black students will report a lower self esteem than low or high achieving white students.

With respect to the relationship between SES and self esteem, a quite similar situation has existed. Educators have often alledged that black and white students with a low SES tended to have lower self esteem than those students with higher SES. Studies have been conducted which measured SES and self esteem in segregated schools, and these support this allegation for white students, but refute it for black students. Rosenberg (1965) and Kohn and Schooler

(1969) both found that in predominantly white schools, a close relationship existed between SES and self esteem. Epps (1969) and Soares and Soares (1969) found that in predominantly black schools, little relationship existed between these two characteristics.

In summary, though numerous studies of segregated schools show black student achievement to be somewhat lower than white student achievement, some recent studies show more equal achievement (increase in black student achievement) in racially mixed settings. Research aimed at pinpointing factors contributing to differential black and white achievement have focused in large part on student self esteem and social class level. The more recent of these studies have shown that the relationship between general measures of achievement and self esteem is not as strong for black as for white students. The more specific aspect of self concept of academic ability, however, does appear to vary directly with achievement for both black and white students. In addition, the more recent studies of the relationship between socioeconomic status and achievement show a stronger direct variation for white than for black students.

Reassessment of Desegregation Strategies: Interracial Activity and Student Outcomes

The conflicts in the findings cited have motivated a rethinking among educators of the goals of desegregation and the definition of equal educational opportunity. Various critics of recent desegregation strategies (Epps, 1974; Sizemore, 1973) have sought to expose the racist assumptions of current philosophies supporting desegregation. They are concerned with programs of desegregation which imply that black children can learn more effectively only in classrooms where the majority of students are white. These same critics also believe that many studies which show increased minority achievement in bi-racial schools also have had inadequate controls for the selection of these schools.

In addition to these criticisms, other educators and concerned citizens have considered the possible negative effects on students of loosely defined strategies of desegregation. Katz (1966) has suggested that a change in the racial environment and exposure to higher academic standards can induce a degree of helplessness and feelings of inferiority which can in turn cause high anxiety. Parents have expressed the fear of possible decreased racial tolerance and increased racial hostility in racially mixed classrooms. In support of these fears, a study conducted of four racially mixed elementary classrooms (Bilodeau, 1973) found that black students experienced little sense of belonging and experienced feelings of inferiority on the formal level of classroom structure. In none of these classrooms was any racial hostility reported.

In his own reassessments of the benefits of desegregation, Epps has stated that black parents now desire more for their children than the basic skills needed for occupational success. They want their children to learn about their cultural heritage, to derive the psychological rewards associated with a group that is respected for its contributions, and to acquire a sense of competence and positive self image.

These criticisms do not dictate the abandonment of desegregation, but point to the need for greater concern about what occurs in the desegregated classroom.

Conditions for Improving the Quality of Integration

Researchers are not stressing the need for making a distinction between integration as "congenial racial interactions" and desegregation as "the mere presence of different races" (Epps, 1973). The desired outcomes of greater achievement and interracial respect have been found to occur almost exclusively in situations where congenial racial interaction existed among students. Many educators

have attempted to identify the conditions conducive to interracial participation in classrooms. In the Bilodeau study of four racially mixed classrooms, groups of students were described in terms of their interracial cohesiveness. The classroom conditions needed for interracial cohesion were identified as near equal numbers of each race, strong associations within one's own racial group, and a need for strong leaders in each racial group. These conditions are compatible with Allport's criteria for lessening prejudice: "equal status in the situation, the seeking of common goals, and cooperative dependence upon each other." (Allport, 1954) He believes that these conditions maximize mutual perceptions and shared values and beliefs.

Brookover (1973) found that in terms of student characteristics, a student's sense of futility (lack of control over his condition plus a perceived lack of teacher caring) most distinguished low achieving schools from high achieving schools. High achieving schools were characterized by a low sense of student futility and high teacher feeling of improvability.

Seltiz (1963) has also outlined the characteristics that he found were needed for favorable attitudinal changes towards members of another race in classes of black and white students: an opportunity to get to know each other individually, equal status among individuals, utilization of common interests, social norms favoring cooperation over competition, and beneficial rewards for both groups, ones that are not in conflict with individual rewards.

Though not inclusive of all conditions cited in these studies, Allport's criteria for lessening prejudice (equal status, cooperation, and pursuit of common goals) provide a common thread running through these findings. In spite of the fact that his data are not specifically from classrooms, they generalize the classroom findings. For these reasons, the working conditions of equal

status, cooperation and common goal orientation are the conditions within racially mixed classrooms upon which this study focuses.

Studies that have attempted to identify the factors contributing to the formation of classroom climate (the social climate) stress the importance of the teacher's role in creating and maintaining conditions appropriate for learning. In many ways, these overlap with conditions summarized above. To demonstrate the importance placed upon the teacher's role with respect to controlling conditions and to relate this stress to the findings above, the major contentions of a number of different educators with respect to teacher influence upon classroom climate will be briefly summarized: (from Baughman, 1964)

> To observe the effects of social climate on students, one should observe the self initiated activities, cooperative activities, leadership activities, and work spirit activities of students. Teacher personality and practices affect the democratic atmosphere of the classroom. (Wrightstone)
>
> The way students are perceived by their classmates depends much upon the way the teacher acts towards those students. (Flanders)
>
> The teacher's behavior is the most important single factor in creating climate...the teacher's verbal behavior is a representative sample of his or her total behavior. (Withall)
>
> The important factor in class atmosphere is the way the teacher uses his leadership function. Teacher personality, methods of leadership, and the structure of the interpersonal relationships within the class groups are the important factors in determining classroom climate. (Blair, Jones, and Simpson)

These statements emphasize the key role the teacher plays in the establishment of a constructive atmosphere for learning. The teacher does this by means of personality, leadership, knowledge and methods. These points apply to the proposed study in relation to the importance placed by Allport upon the establishment of conditions for lessening prejudice. If we were to focus efforts towards the creation of climate which would lessen prejudice (in contrast to or in addition to a good learning environment) the processes involved in the task would be

the same. That is, this process would be in the hands of the teacher.

This point is more clearly demonstrated by the similarity between the conditions for lessening prejudice and for creating a "good learning environment." Because the conditions of equal status, cooperation, and pursuit of common goals were judged to be important aspects of the racially mixed classroom, the teacher's influence upon the establishment of these conditions was included as an important classroom dimension.

Prejudice

Attempts to specify and create classroom conditions that favor interracial activity represent actions that explicitly or implicitly try to counteract racially prejudiced attitudes that may exist in students. Because this study attempts to verify the existence of conditions hypothesized as conducive to a decrease in student prejudice, the aspects which may be related to the existence, formation, or change in prejudice are of major concern to this study.

Numerous studies in the 1950's (poll data) explored demographic variations in prejudice. Their results have tended to contradict each other. Generalizations having the widest support were that people with college educations were slightly less intolerant than people with less education and that white people in the lower SES levels were on the average more anti-Negro than white people at higher levels. These data were derived from nationwide samples and provided no proof-positive invariant relationships between demographic groupings and prejudice (Allport, 1954).

Chalres Stember (1961) attempted to determine the degree to which formal education improved peoples' attitudes towards religious, ethnic, and racial minorities by reanalyzing the vast files of public opinion data gathered by the polling agencies (1952 - 1959). In an attempt to make the data more understanda-

ble, he categorized the findings concerning prejudice into three dimensions: beliefs and perceptions concerning minorities, attitudes towards discrimination, and acceptance of personal relationships with minority groups. Though the conclusions of nearly all the poll studies indicated an inverse relationship between amount of education and prejudice, he concluded that the impact of education on prejudiced views was really quite limited. "Its chief effect is to reduce notions that members of minorities are strange and to diminish fear of casual personal contact. But the limits of acceptance are sharply drawn; while legal equality is supported, full social participation is not." (Stember, 1961)

More recently, researchers have attempted to summarize and rationalize the multitude of findings by drawing out of the data principles of prejudice that relate to the transmission of ethnic attitudes from parent to child and the mechanisms for maintenance of ethnic prejudice in society. In Howard Ehrlich's book, The Social Psychology of Prejudice (1973), he reviews the literature in this regard and formulates a number of principles that have direct bearing on the nature and character of desegregated classrooms. These will be briefly summarized:

1) Changes in ethnic attitudes generally follow changes in the established ways ethnic groups communicate with each other.

2) A change in the established patterns of communication between groups decreases the stability of ethnic attitudes by modifying their distinct views and concensus among the group members. (language and interaction)

3) Instrument measures of acquisition and retention of prejudice are inversely related to measures of cognitive ability. High levels of intellectual ability appear to retard the acquisition of prejudice and prejudice is associated with low scores on formal tests of intelligence and rigidity to change in beliefs. (intelligence and performance)

4) The less that people know about a person's ethnicity, the greater is the likelihood that responses concerning that person will be in accordance with prevailing stereotypes concerning that ethnic category. (interracial experience)

5) Initial intergroup experiences are very important in establishing the direction in which ethnic attitudes can develop. (contact)

6) The greater the perceived similarity between groups, the lower will be the prejudice among members towards the respective different groups. (perceived similarity)

7) The more favorable a person's self attitudes, the more accepting will be his attitudes towards other ethnic groups and vice versa. A person with favorable attitudes towards self will have favorable attitudes towards a greater number of ethnic persons and groups. (self acceptance and acceptance of others)

8) People develop attitudes similar to those of their primary agents of socialization. (parents, teachers, classmates)

Classrooms represent environments in which these principles can be applied and retested. If one agrees with these principles, and seeks to observe or change attitudes, the desegregated classroom represents a possible proving ground.

The findings, hypotheses, and principles covered here reveal generally the multidimensional aspect of classrooms and the interrelatedness of the dimensions. Specifically, they locate those dimensions which distinguish among black and white students as groups and point out those asepcts of racially mixed classrooms which may be of influence to student outcomes. These dimensions will be summarized below.

An internal dimension for students is represented by the variables of self esteem, sense of futility and sense of belonging. Collectively, these describe a general satisfaction within the classroom environment. A dimension of performance is represented by the variable of achievement and the equality of achievement among black and white students. The working conditions cited as necessary for lessening prejudice and improving interracial participation represent a dimension describing the working environment. Depending upon objectives and intentions, the teacher exerts an influence, a controlling power over all these other aspects, and as such represents a dimension which can be labeled teacher rationale.

Ehrlich's principles of prejudice point out and emphasize that prejudice is not a factor contained within or related to one classroom condition or dimension, but is a construct born of and associated with many different aspects of the classroom. The aspects identified as related to the formation or change in the attitude of prejudice can be categorized within the dimensions listed above.

With respect to a major intention of the present study, to provide information that will enable more effective management and greater predictability in racially mixed classrooms, these findings from the literature have suggested aspects which may bear upon this problem. At the same time, they emphasize the need for a rationale of study that can organize a variety of classroom variables. The following section will describe the rationale which forms the basis for the design of the study and which carries out this organizing function.

Chapter III

Rationale

A rationale by definition is an explanation of reasons or principles (Webster, 1973). The rationale for the present study 1) explains some ways in which different groups (black and white students) were expected to respond when put in the same classroom; and 2) presents one explanation of the determinants of these responses by the individual. Principles concerning the way in which differing groups will respond, are summarized by Allport's treatment of the origin of prejudice and the effects of contact upon two differing groups. For an explanation of the dynamics of behavior, a specialized application of Lewin's ideas concerning behavior formation will be presented.

According to Allport, ethnic groups who have had little contact with each other will have prejudices about each other. These prejudices may be negative if the culture (and larger society) of which they are a part condones discrimination and the formation of negative stereotypes of other groups. When persons of these groups are put into contact with each other, they will be afforded the opportunity to test out their stereotypes; to legitimate them or refute them. They also will have a chance to legitimate or refute society's teachings with regard to discrimination as a practice and to the societal stereotypes. Allport has found that the general effect of contact is a lessening of prejudice among members of both groups. However, the conditions of the situation studied (a restaurant, a public place, or a classroom, for example) may bear upon their judgments. These conditions may be of significant influence in the determination of attitudes. Allport has suggested that the existence of the conditions of equal status, cooperation, and common goals in the situation studied tends to lessen prejudices and to impair the formation of negative prejudices towards the other group.

In agreement with Ehrlich's principles summarized earlier, Allport has stated that the formation of prejudices is a function of many factors and is rarely tied to one event or variable. Level of prejudice is related to working conditions, to the way persons feel about themselves, and ultimately to the way they behave. These ideas may apply directly to the situation of the classroom. In as much as teachers influence the conditions of equal status, cooperation, and common goals, they therefore influence student prejudice. The present study attempts to find out if student racial prejudice is associated with students' perceptions of the existence of particular conditions, students' self concept, classroom behavior, and teacher influence.

In discussing similar phenomena, Lewin offers further explanation. Behavior (B) is a function of the simultaneous interaction of the Person (P) and his Environment (E); $B = f(PE)$ (Lewin, 1936). According to this proposition, every behavior or psychological event depends upon the state of the person and at the same time the environment the person is in. In order to utilize the proposition, as Lewin points out, "it is necessary to find methods of representing person and environment in common terms as parts of the situation." (p. 12)

This proposition can be used to organize into a logical framework variables described in the literature as important to understanding the interaction between black and white students. We are suggesting that these variables constitute some of the "common terms" representing parts of the situation that Lewin stated were needed. These variables are not intended to provide a comprehensive description of the situation, but are selected to show greatest salience in terms of the proposition as applied to prejudice.

The following classroom dimensions thus have been identified from the find-

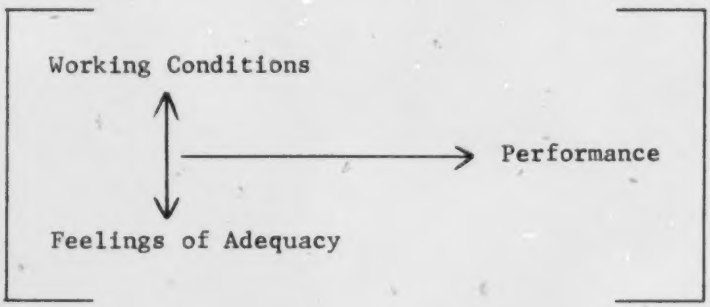
ings in the literature as pertinent to the study of student prejudice in racially mixed classes: internal feelings of adequacy, performance of the students, the working conditions which they perceive as characteristic of the environment, and the way these are influenced by the teacher. The behavioral (B) component for this study is represented by various kinds of performance of black and white students in the classroom. Students' reported internal feelings represent the person (P) component, and the working conditions as perceived by the students represent the environmental (E) component. Black and white student behavior is viewed as a factor related to internal feelings of the students within particular working conditions. As either of the latter change, so will students' behavior. The specific internal feelings, types of performance, and working conditions studied are basically those indicated earlier in the summary of the findings from the literature. These are spelled out in more detail in the next section. In employing the psychological proposition to describe individual student behavior in the classroom, Lewin's rationale establishes a paradigm for this study, a way of viewing and treating the classroom situation.

The situation that was studied (designated by Lewin's paradigm) exists in a contextual field whose nature is affected by the general level and quality of prejudice that the students bring to the situation; and by the teaching style and strategies that structure the situation. In short, the relationship of $B = f(PE)$ may be different when the situations are in different historical and pedogical contexts. As stated earlier, the teacher's role for this study is viewed as strongly influential upon the kind of working conditions that exist in the classroom. Because working conditions, by definition for this study, constitute the environment (E) for the students, the controlling influence of the teacher is upon that environment. In the classroom, the teacher usually

has the obligatory dual role of acting within the environment and of managing it; carrying out the rules set down for maintenance of working conditions. Consequently, the working conditions for students, and their influence upon student behavior exist within the "field" of teacher control. This past discussion serves to illustrate the special position of the teacher for this study: as part of the environment (E), but to a greater extent external and influential upon it. Just as teachers may be viewed as part of the environment, student prejudice may be viewed as an internal or "person" component of the students. As pointed out before, however, prejudice has been hypothesized to be associated in some way to aspects within each of the dimensions of performance, internal feelings, and working conditions (B, P, and E respectively). It is an attitude students bring to the classroom; one which may change as a result of classroom experiences or which may itself influence classroom events. For this study, prejudice is given prominence as a variable which may be of key importance in its association with classroom dimensions. It is treated as something existing within the three dimensions, but not necessarily tied or related to one dimension in particular. Prejudice for this study is both a causal and an outcome variable. It will be of interest before and after change, but will not be considered a process variable to be included in Lewin's paradigm as restricted to our experimental situation.

For this situation, Allport's and Lewin's ideas concerning the determination of behavior are compatible. Focussing them upon the classroom situation supplies a basis in reason for making predictions of relationships between variables in that situation. The emphasis given the influence of the teacher and the level of student prejudice derives primarily from the widespread importance placed upon them in the literature.

Within this rationale for studying racially mixed classrooms, variables were measured which represented the dimension of student performance, internal feelings of adequacy, and working conditions. As controller of the environment, indicators of teacher influence were included. Student prejudice was measured in order to determine its association and possible intervening influence upon the other dimensions. The following diagram illustrates the way in which the various dimensions relate to each other within the conceptualization of the situation as outlined by Lewin.



Teacher Influence

Student Prejudice

Chapter IV

Design and Methodology

Described in the following sections is the methodology of the study. The major unit of analysis for the study is the classroom; however, the data obtained are summarized for black and white students and teachers across classes also. Because the above data were collected only once, variable measures and relationships between them do not reveal changes over time. The specific problem addressed is stated as one general question to be answered, and the nature and scope of the problem is described in detail. Following this, the variables are operationally defined, and the methods of measuring the variables are discussed. The final section lists the specific hypotheses and questions utilized in addressing the problem, and the methods of data treatment for the hypotheses are described briefly.

Major Questions and Framework for Inquiry

The problem to be treated can be stated by the following question:

How are indicators of student racial prejudice within racially mixed classes related to the following classroom dimensions:
a) students' perceptions of certain working conditions;
b) students' feelings of personal adequacy;
c) particular aspects of students' performance in the class;
d) and teachers' rationale concerning classroom managment?

The dimensions of student perceptions involve the extent to which students perceive the conditions of equal status, cooperation, and pursuit of common goals to be characteristic of their class. The dimension of students' feelings of personal adequacy include measures of self concept of academic ability, satisfaction with the class, and sense of futility within the classroom situation. The dimen-

sion of student performance is represented by the extent to which class participation by black and white students is equal, the extent to which black and white students sit among each other, and the extent to which black and white student achievement is equal. Teachers' rationale is determined by each teacher's report of the extent to which he or she values the classroom conditions of equal status, cooperation, and pursuit of common goals and the extent to which each has attempted to institute these conditions in their class.

Students' perceptions of conditions and feelings of personal adequacy are classroom dimensions involving individual student variables, and data for these dimensions have been obtained from self report instruments. Relationships between these variables and indicators of student prejudice are determined for each student separately, and these are summarized within each class to produce distinct classroom descriptions. Subsequent comparisons are made among the classes in terms of their common and uncommon relationships.

The dimensions of student performance and teacher rationale differ from the other dimensions in that they involve data supplied by observers and teachers and do not yield information for separate individuals. Within these dimensions, each variable measure is in itself a summary for a particular classroom. Consequently, these variable measures and the relationships between them are most informative when compared across classes.

The particular aspects sampled within each classroom dimension were selected for this study because of their hypothesized relationship to change of student prejudice. The dimensions themselves were selected in order to sample a variety of classroom features, to include both individual and group measures, and to organize the set of more specific variables.

Because the majority of these data are to be gathered from self report in-

struments, the validity of what is reported was assessed from interviews with each of the teachers and with a small racially mixed group of students from each class. The purpose of the interviews has been to determine if students and teachers interpreted the instrument items as intended, if their interpretations were similar or wide ranging, and if in their opinion the responses of those taking the instruments were honest and straightforward.

In summary, this inquiry is an ethnographic study of 16 racially mixed classes from 3 schools, and the essential techniques of assessment have been self report instruments, classroom observations and interviews. Findings from the study support or refute prior notions concerning the relationship of particular classroom variables to student prejudice. These findings have implications for further study with more diverse and larger samples of racially mixed classes, but as stated earlier, are not intended to be directly generalizable.

The Sample

Three secondary schools were involved in the study, six classes from the first school (158 students) and five classes from each of the other schools (90 and 81 students respectively.) Each school was somewhat different and thus will be characterized briefly.

The first school (School #1) has 600 students, all male, and is a Catholic school of long standing. Up until approximately ten years ago, the student body was all white and largely Catholic. Over the recent years, the student population has gradually changed to include black students and non-catholic students to the present condition in which black students comprise 45% of the student body and non-catholics comprise approximately 40%. SES level of black and white students in the school at present is nearly equal and represents for the most part

non-professional occupations (3.99 on a scale of 1 - 7). Because this school is private, it draws from a large geographic area. The neighborhood, however, in which the school is located is predominantly occupied by black families.

At present there are 30 faculty in School #1, only one of whom is black and two of whom are female. Lay teachers comprise 66% of the faculty at the present, and the ratio of lay to religious faculty has varied from year to year. A tradition at this school has been for parents who have graduated from this school to send their children to the school, but this tendency has decreased in recent years. It has been common in past years also for graduates to return and teach at this school, and a small minority of religious and lay faculty presently teaching are high school graduates of the school. The major criterion applied to all schools for selecting classes to participate was that at least 30% of the classroom population be comprised of either black or white students. All teachers at School #1 were given the opportunity to participate whose class fulfilled this criterion, and of the five who volunteered, four teachers participated in the study (two teachers volunteering two of their classes).

School #2 has been in existence for slightly less than 10 years and has maintained from its inception a racial balance of at least 25% white population. At the time of this study, the percentages for the student body were 26.4% White and 66.7% Black with Asian and Hispanic making up the remaining 6.9%. This is a public school, co-educational with a toal student body of just under 2,000 students. It is located in a racially mixed neighborhood, adjacent to a large metropolitan university, and many of its students are children of university faculty. Mean SES level of this student body is higher than the other schools

(5 on a scale of 7) possibly reflecting the rather high percentage of university (professional) families.

Of the 72 faculty members, 84.7% are black, and females comprise a small majority. Turnover is slight for this school, and there is a large demand among teachers to obtain a position in this school. The principal was instrumental in obtaining classes to participate in the study and personally asked particular teachers who had classes with at least 30% black or white students to participate. All who were asked willingly volunteered.

School #3 has a long history of integration and has drawn its student body from a wide range of SES levels from the neighborhood surrounding the school. It is a public school, co-educational, and has a student body of approximately 2800 students. Of this student body, 35.8% are white and 63.5% are black, the remaining fraction of a percent comprised of other races. Over the years, the percentage of black students has increased very gradually with respect to white students, and racially mixed classrooms have, therefore, existed within this school much longer than in either of the other two schools. SES level of the student body is only slightly lower than in School #1 (3.84 on a scale of 7), and this has decreased only slightly over the recent years.

The faculty of 80 teachers is 50% Black and 49% White, and a small majority of the faculty are male. All teachers were given notice of the opportunity to participate in the study by the principal of the school with the specified criterion of at least 30% white or black student population, and of the six teachers expressing interest in the study, four teachers volunteered (one teacher volunteering two classes).

Factors involved in obtaining classes for the study were accessibility to schools with racially mixed populations and the sheer lack of number of classes satisfying the primary criterion. Because of the difficulty experienced in obtaining access to racially mixed classes, the sample of classes is not a random sample from the Chicago area, and findings can only validly be applied to these classes themselves. It is pointed out, however, that the schools do represent three somewhat different environments, and that findings which exist across the three schools may be somewhat compelling from this standpoint. The total number of students participating from the three schools is 339, and the total number of teachers participating is 12.

Students and teachers of each class responded to self report instruments, and each class was observed for two periods. To validate instrument data, interviews were conducted with all teachers and a small sample of students. This student sample comprised four students from each of the classes, two black and two white. Students were chosen by asking each class for volunteers to answer some additional questions following the administration of the instruments.

Treatment of the Variables

Student prejudice was measured in two ways. Students of each class responded first to an instrument entitled, the Class Play (Bower, 1962), an exercise in which students selected classmates for twenty school related roles and rated the roles in terms of their perceived importance. The twenty original roles and the questions asked about them were altered to approximate more closely those congruent with high school instead of grade school students. In addition, some roles were reworded to include stereotypes of blacks and whites.

For this instrument, students were instructed to first name a student for each of the roles and then were asked to assign a number rating (-4 to +4) to each role which approximated its desirability or value relative to the other roles. An index of prejudice was computed for each student from a combination of these re-

sponses. Potentially prejudiced responses were those in which students chose members of their own race for roles they valued the most and members of the opposite race for those they valued the least. Only twelve of the twenty roles were used for computing the index: six roles valued most and six roles valued least by each student individually. The index constituted the number of potentially prejudiced responses (of the twelve) made by each student.

As a measure of racial prejudice, the Class Play has not been widely tested. Because it differs in many ways from more commonly used paper - pencil instruments of attitude assessment, its results are not readily comparable to existing findings of other studies. In order to aid interpretation of the Class Play results and to relate these more easily to previous findings, a second instrument for measuring racial attitudes was administered; the Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1925). Social Distance is defined as the degree to which individuals are willing to accept people who differ from themselves into their own social group (Triandis and Triandis, 1965). With this instrument, students were faced with a task similar to that of the Class Play: choosing persons for particular roles. However, the persons were from a generalized group, and the roles were less specific. Students were given a list of 24 different ethnic groups and were asked to indicate the type of relationship they themselves would be willing to engage in with persons of each ethnic group. They were instructed to choose the types of relationships (from a total of eight) and then to assign one or more relationships to each group. The relationships varied from "Immediate Family Member" to the distant relationship of "Exclusion From My Country." Each of the eight relationships had a corresponding number (1 - 8), and the distance index equaled the number of the "closest" (most intimate) relationship chosen.

Some recent studies support the contention that racial prejudice is indicated

by measures of Social Distance (Cook, 1968; Triandis and Triandis, 1965; and Glock, Wuthnow, Piliavin, and Spencer, 1975). The decision to use this instrument as an additional indicator of prejudice was based upon its similarity in nature to the activity required in the Class Play, its reported relationship to prejudice (as defined by this study), and its ease of administration to classes of students.

Students were assigned an index of prejudice, therefore, from both instruments. Once obtained, the indices were correlated (Pearson Product Moment Correlation) with each other to determine their degree of similarity. When the term, prejudice, is used for this study, it refers to both measures unless otherwise indicated. Results from the Social Distance Scale are discussed separately from the Class Play Index, and results from both measures are interpreted as findings.

Students' perceptions of particular working conditions were treated utilizing the ALP Ethos Instrument developed by Herbert Thelen (1973). In this instrument, students described their class by ranking 24 items (statements) on cards in order of their descriptiveness. The contents of the items are organized around the concepts of authenticity (A), legitimacy (L), and productivity (P) and are intended to sample most aspects of classroom life. Students ranked these items twice describing their class as they actually perceived it and then as they would have liked it to be.

Following each ranking procedure, students shuffled the 24 cards and then assigned a numerical value of 1 through 5 to each item. The number 1 was to be assigned the highly characteristic items and number 5 was to be assigned the highly uncharacteristic items.

The content of three pairs of the 24 items corresponds to the conditions of

equal status, cooperation, and common goal orientation (two items per condition). Each student received a score for each of the three conditions constituted of the sum of the number ratings assigned each of the two items. This score indicated the perceived characteristicness of each of the three conditions for each student.

Students' feelings of personal adequacy were obtained from instrument measures of self concept of academic ability, students' satisfaction with their class, and students' sense of futility. Self concept of academic ability was measured utilizing an instrument developed by Wilbur Brookover in 1973. Students responded to multiple choice questions and assessed their own academic abilities with respect to others in their class. Each student received a score from 1 to 5 for each question, and the sum of these scores equaled the total score for this variable for each student. Satisfaction was determined from student responses to the ALP Ethos Instrument, but in this case the entire 24 item ranking for actual and ideal descriptions were utilized. Each student's actual and ideal descriptions were correlated (Spearman Rank Order Correlation) and the size of the correlation constituted each student's satisfaction score.

The two different methods of responding to the ALP Instrument (assignment of number ratings to items and ranking of items) reveal different kinds of information. In asking students to assign numbers to items, they are instructed to treat each item individually as a kind of checklist of classroom occurrances. In asking students to rank the 24 items, they are made to judge each of the items relative to all others, and in doing so students construct a pattern revealing the overall ethos of the classroom. To determine which conditions are most characteristic, students are asked to assign number ratings to particular items. To determine

satisfaction, however, students judge all aspects of the class as depicted by their rankings of the 24 items; one item as it relates to another.

Sense of futility was determined from student responses to a set of questions developed and tested by Wilbur Brookover (1973) which were designed to assess the degree to which a student feels helpless because of perceived environmental restrictions. Scoring for this variable is nearly identical to that of self concept of academic ability.

The dimension of student performance was determined from observations of students' and teachers' verbal behavior, students' seating preference, and student achievement. Class participation was defined as verbal communication from either teacher or student. Each instance of communication was categorized by whether it was being directed to an individual or group and by the nature of its emotional content. More specifically, the questions being asked by this categorization related to whether the communication was general or directed, whether it was hostile or reluctant, whether it was emotionally neutral, whether it was willing and initiating, and finally, whether it was offered by the teacher, a black student, or a white student. Instances of communication between teacher and student were recorded by an observer on forms detailing the categorizations of verbal behavior. Each category was summed for black and for white students separately. The equality or inequality of participation in each category was represented by a mean of the ratios of the respective summations (black participation to white participation).

The observer also made a seating chart of each of the observations indicating the positions of white and black students. Classes were differentiated by visual inspection to determine the degree to which black and white students sat among each other. The classes were each assigned a seating score based upon

this inspection. Student achievement was defined as the present average grade obtained so far in a particular class, and grades were obtained from student records. Equality of achievement between black and white students was designated as the numerical difference between the mean achievement level of each group.

To determine the dimension of teacher rationale concerning the conditions of equal status, cooperation, and common goals among their students, each teacher also described his or her class utilizing the ALP Ethos Instrument. As with the student descriptions, a pair of items described each of the three conditions. Teachers were asked to rate the 24 items (1 - 5) in terms of how important they personally felt these items were. They were asked to rate the items a second time in terms of the extent to which they tried to institute these aspects in their own classroom. The scores for these two variables (item importance and strength of intentions) were determined from the ratings of the item pairs representing each of the conditions of equal status, cooperation, and common goals.

In addition to the above process, teachers were interviewed concerning their views on the importance of the three conditions and their attempts to institute them. Their responses were given scores and were also compared to mean level of student prejudice in the classes.

Hypotheses

To structure the proposed inquiry and to address in detail the major questions proposed, a number of hypotheses were formulated. The hypotheses concern the relationship of student prejudice to the various classroom dimensions outlined earlier.

Hypotheses:	Classroom Dimension:
1) Within the class, student racial prejudice will vary inversely with the extent to which students perceive the conditions of equal status, cooperation, and pursuit of common goals to be characteristic of the class.	Student perceptions of working conditions
2) Student prejudice will vary inversely with student self concept of academic ability.	Student feelings of personal adequacy
3) Student prejudice will vary inversely with student satisfaction with the class.	
4) Student prejudice will vary directly with student sense of futility.	
5) In classes in which the numbers of black and white students are nearly equal (60%/40%), there will be an inverse relationship between the mean level of prejudice and the extent to which participation by black and white students is equal.	Student performance
6) Where choice of seating is available, the mean level of student prejudice will vary inversely with the extent to which black and white students sit among each other.	
7) The mean level of prejudice will vary inversely with the extent to which the mean of black and white student achievement is equal.	
8) The mean level of student prejudice will vary inversely with the extent to which teachers place importance upon the classroom conditions of equal status, cooperation, and common goals for their students.	Teacher rationale
9) The mean level of student prejudice will vary inversely with the extent to which teachers have attempted to institute the conditions of equal status, cooperation, and common goals in their classroom	

Regression analysis was utilized to test the above hypotheses. For hypotheses #1 through #9, student prejudice (determined by both the Class Play and Social Distance Scale) was regressed against the variables from each dimension comprising a total of eight separate regressions. In each case, prejudice was a dependent variable, and the variables within each dimension constituted independent variables. A multiple R correlation was obtained for the comparison of prejudice to the variables of each dimension, and in addition, regression coefficients were calculated for each of the variables within each dimension. F ratios were computed for each multiple R and regression coefficient, and support for the hypotheses is indicated if the F ratios are significant at the .05 level. These tests of significance are interpreted to mean that the probability of this sample being drawn from a population in which R = 0 is less than .05.

The primary criteria utilized for testing hypotheses #1, #8, and #9 were the multiple R coefficients determined for the dimensions of classroom working conditions and teacher rationale. They describe the relationships between prejudice and the working conditions of "equal status," "cooperation," and "common goals" jointly. For testing the other hypotheses, regression coefficients which compared prejudice and one other variable were the primary testing criteria. The findings for all hypothese are not confined, however, to discussions of multiple R coefficients or regression coefficients for particular hypotheses. Both types of coefficients are utilized for discussion of the proposed relationships. For hypotheses #5 through #9, only two scores from each of the 16 classes were utilized for comparison across all classes. Each hypothesis is supported or refuted based upon one regression involving all sixteen classes, and individual classroom results are not considered.

Chapter V

Results

Prior to a discussion of the specific results, a brief explanation of the manner in which the two measures of prejudice were utilized is needed. At the outset of this study, it was not known to what degree scores from the Class Play and the Social Distance instruments would be associated. Although they are similar in certain ways in what they require from students, there are some important differences. Certainly the Class Play was tied more strictly to the specific situation and environment within which students functioned - their classroom - than was the Social Distance Scale. The Social Distance Scale is a more traditional measure of prejudice in that it has been more widely used and asks for more general assessments than does the Class Play. Given these differences, it is not surprising that in only two of the 16 classes (labeled A through P) were the two measures correlated to any high degree. In classes J and N, correlation coefficients equaled .320 (sig. = .088) and .389 (sig. = .106) respectively. When all cases for all classes were compared on these two measures, the correlation coefficient was only .088.

In order to interpret these measures more adequately and to relate them to prior studies, a third measure was taken of a small racially mixed group of students from each of the classes, and scores were correlated for these students with scores obtained from the original two instruments. The third measure was the "Intolerance to Ambiguity Scale" which traditionally has been found to correlate highly with measures of prejudice. For the 55 cases involved in this third measure, Intolerance to Ambiguity was found to correlate at the .04 significance level with the Social Distance Scale and was found to have virtually no relationship (.41 significance level) with the Class Play scores. The results of these analyses suggest that the Social Distance Scale (SDS) and the Class Play (CPI) measure different aspects. For this study, they will be inter-

preted as measures of different aspects of prejudice.

It appears also that SDS does indeed coincide with the more traditional measures as indicated by its high correlation with the Intolerance to Ambiguity Scale. This provides a useful link to past research utilizing similar measures. In reporting results of this study, relationships involving both indicators (CPI and SDS) will be described and interpreted.

Hypothesis #1: Classroom Dimension of Working Conditions

The first hypothesis posits an inverse relationship between prejudice in students and the classroom working conditions of "equal status" (EQS), "cooperation" (COP), and "pursuit of common goals" among classroom members (COG). Tables 1 and 2 display the letter assigned each of the sixteen classes, the multiple R coefficient and F Ratio obtained for the entire dimension (COG, COP, and EQS considered jointly), and the F Ratios for each of the three conditions separately. Support for Hypothesis #1 involving the dimension of "working conditions" is obtained if the F Ratios pertaining to the multiple R correlations are high enough to indicate a significant relationship. In the tables, all figures have been shown for each class along with the sign of the relationship. Those which are significant have been underlined. Table 1 displays the results for the first hypothesis utilizing the Social Distance Scale (SDS) as the indicator of prejudice. Observing the 16 classes collectively, prejudice as indicated by the SDS is found to be significantly related to the dimension of classroom working conditions (multiple R) in none of the 16 classes. The two classes displaying the highest F Ratio for the Dimension are classes C and M. Prejudice as indicated by the Class Play Index (CPI in Table 2) was found to be significantly related to the dimension of classroom working conditions in only one class, again class M, at the .01 significance level. As determined by the criteria of multiple R

Table 1

Multiple Regression of Prejudice As Measured By Social Distance (SDS) With The Dimension of Students' Perceptions of Classroom Working Conditions: Equal Status (EQS), Cooperation (COP), and Pursuit of Common Goals (COG) for 16 Classes (A-P)

Class Letter	Multiple R	F Ratios for the Dimension	F Ratios for Individual Variables* COG	COP	EQS
A	.29	.79	- .17	+ .31	+ 2.03
B	.14	.11	+ .01	+ .27	+ .13
C	.48	2.7	- 5.79**	+ .06	+ 3.52**
D	.38	1.32	+ 3.83	+ .12	- .36
E	.43	1.53	- 1.02	- 2.84	+ 2.10
F	.46	1.28	- 3.7	+ .02	+ .27
G	.52	1.50	- 2.21	+ 4.36	+ .51
H	.42	1.16	+ .08	- .62	+ 3.16
I	.53	1.82	- 2.01	+ .17	+ .65
J	.40	.96	- 1.99	+ .92	- .02
K	.64	1.64	+ .04	- 1.54	- .95
L	.60	1.32	+ .055	+ 1.70	+ .01
M	.75	2.72	+ 6.57	- .09	+ 1.67
N	.64	1.93	- 5.10	+ .10	+ 3.59
O	.54	.41	- .50	+ .25	+ .195
P	.53	.94	+ .24	+ .50	+ 1.87

* F Ratios which are underlined are significant at .05 level or less.

**A positive F Ratio indicates an inverse relationship (variation) between prejudice and another variable. A negative F Ratio indicates a positive relationship (variation).

Table 2

Multiple Regression of Prejudice As Measured By the Class Play (CPI) With The Dimension of Students' Perceptions of Classroom Working Conditions: Equal Status (EQS), Cooperation (COP), Pursuit of Common Goals (COG) for 16 Classes (A-P)

Class Letter	Multiple R	F Ratios for the Dimension	F Ratios for Individual Variables**		
			COG	COP	EQS
A	.24	.51	+ .05	+ .95	+ .46
B	.42	1.14	+ .09	+ .03	+ 2.47
C	.21	.42	+ .04	+ .64	+ .04
D	.433	1.77	- 4.78*	- .11	+ 1.66
E	.19	.26	- .04	+ .06	+ .51
F	.39	.38	+ 1.15	- .82	- .34
G	.39	.75	- .005	- .73	+ 2.14
H	.23	.30	+ .15	+ .000	- .45
I	.41	.66	- .05	+ .44	- 1.07
J	.48	1.57	- 1.00	- .64	- .17
K	.14	.05	- .015	- .002	+ .001
L	.49	.74	- 1.12	+ .001	+ .100
M	.87	6.56*	+ .03	+12.3	-10.2
N	.65	1.93	- 2.70	+ .03	+ 3.75
O	.40	.19	+ .10	- .000	+ .51
P	.34	.32	- .52	- 1.53	- .01

* F Ratios which are underlined are significant at .05 level or less.

** A positive F Ratio indicates an inverse relationship between prejudice and another variable. A negative F Ratio indicates a positive relationship.

correlation, students' perceptions of the characteristicness of the above working conditions in their classes were not found to be related to any large degree to either of the prejudice indicators.

To gain more specific information concerning the relationship of particular working conditions to the existence of student prejudice, the coefficients relating prejudice to each condition are described. From Table 1, it is observed that in particular classes, certain of the working conditions were found to relate to prejudice (SDS). Class C shows a negative relationship with prejudice for the "pursuit of common goals" and a positive one for "equal status" among students. Hypothesis #1 is, therefore, supported in this class for the condition of "equal status" indicating that students' perceptions of the characteristicness of "equal status" vary inversely with prejudice as determined by the SDS. On the other hand, prejudice varies directly with perceptions that classmates have "common goals," indicating that students who perceive the condition of "common goals" to be characteristic of the class are those who have indicated they are most prejudiced. This was opposite of what was predicted.

Although in the other classes, none of the F values for "equal status" is high enough to indicate a significant relationship to prejudice, a few values approach significance (classes H and N), and nearly all other weak relationships for classes are positive in sign. Collectively, these data suggest that if indeed a relationship is indicated, its sign is positive. That is, in classes where some indication of this relationship is shown, prejudice as measured by the SDS and "equal status" may vary inversely as predicted.

In contrast, the relationship of prejudice (SDS) to "common goals" is different among the classes with respect to the sign and strength. Classes C, F, and N show strong negative relationships (indicating direct variation) while

classes D and M show strong positive relationships (indicating inverse variation). What this suggests is that "pursuit of common goals" is related to prejudice in at least five of the 16 classes, but that the nature of the relationship appears to be dependent upon specific factors within the individual classes.

In only two instances, classes G and E, does the condition of "cooperation" appear to be associated with prejudice and this is only indicated for the SDS. A significant positive relationship exists in Class G indicating that perceptions of the characteristicness of "cooperation" in the class vary inversely with prejudice as measured by the SDS are very low. For most classes, then, "cooperation" and prejudice do not appear to be associated.

In summary, the relationship of prejudice (as measured by SDS) to the classroom dimension of students' perceptions of working conditions is generally very weak. Treating the three conditions separately within this dimension, an inverse relationship between "equal status" and prejudice was found in one class and is suggested in a number of other classes by relationships approaching an acceptable level of significance. The "pursuit of common goals" appears to be the one condition most strongly related to prejudice, though significant relationships exist only in five classes, and the direction (sign) of the relationships is not consistent among them. "Cooperation" as a working condition is rarely related strongly to prejudice as measured by the SDS.

Referring to Table 2, one observes that even fewer significant relationships are found between prejudice as measured by the Class Play Index (CPI) than by the SDS. In only one class, class D, is the condition of "common goals" related to prejudice; however, it does vary inversely with prejudice as hypothesized. In class M, both "cooperation" and "equal status" are very highly associated to prejudice, but oppositely. As predicted, "cooperation" is seen to

vary inversely with prejudice in class M, while in opposition to Hypothesis #1, "equal status" varies directly.

Because of the scarcity of F values even approaching significance, it is difficult to suggest any patterns among the classes concerning the conditions in the classroom as they relate to prejudice as indicated by the CPI. What is evident is that for these 16 classes, it is rare that prejudice (CPI) and students' perceptions of the characteristicness of these classroom working conditions are related to associated to any large extent in the minds of students.

In considering the entire dimension of students' perceptions of working conditions, it must be concluded that prejudice as measured by both the CPI and SDS has little relationship to the dimension of working conditions collectively. In addition, relationships between prejudice and particular conditions occured only sporatically among the classes.

Hypotheses 2 - 4: Classroom Dimension of Student Feelings of Personel Adequacy

As described earlier, Hypotheses 2 - 4 have predicted the existence of particular relationships between prejudice in students and the variables of student satisfaction (SAT), sense of futility (SFT), and self concept of academic ability (SCA). Tables 3 and 4 display the results for these hypotheses utilizing the Social Distance Scale (Table 3) and the Class Play Index (Table 4) as indicators of prejudice.

For this dimension, Tables 3 and 4 show that two of the 16 classes (Class A in Table 4 and Class J in Table 3) revealed significant multiple R coefficients. These two classes are identified as those in which prejudice is most highly associated with one or more of the variables defining the dimension of personal adequacy. Because so few classes reveal a significant multiple R, this dimension

Table 3

Multiple Regression of Student Prejudice As Measured by Social Distance (SDS) With The Dimension of Personal Adequacy: Satisfaction (SAT), Sense of Futility (SFT), and Self Concept of Academic Ability (SCA) for 16 Classes

Class Letter	Multiple R	F Ratios for the Dimension	F Ratios for Individual Variables*		
			SAT	SFT	SCA
A	.36	1.29	- 2.53	- .67	- .001
B	.46	1.48	+ .05	+ 1.05	- 3.75
C	.39	1.59	- .42	+ .74	- 4.65
D	.25	.51	- .03	+ .55	- 1.53
E	.37	1.01	- .49	- .90	- 1.48
F	.28	.26	+ .43	+ .52	+ .10
G	.29	.36	+ .12	.00	+ .46
H	.46	1.31	+ 1.86	+ 2.36	+ .02
I	.43	.83	- .07	+ .76	- 2.35
J	.76	6.9*	- 9.9	+17.8	- 2.3
K	.14	.05	+ .11	+ .01	+ .05
L	.34	.95	- 2.16	+ 1.68	+ .02
M	.27	.16	- .22	- .41	- .19
N	.40	.52	+ .13	+ .85	- .14
O	.62	.63	+ .00	+ .34	+ .49
P	.58	2.19	+ 1.8	- .70	- 5.2

* F Ratios which are underlined are significant at the .05 level or less.

Table 4

Multiple Regression of Student Prejudice As Measured By the Class Play (CPI) With The Dimension of Personal Adequacy: Satisfaction (SAT), Sense of Futility (SFT), and Self Concept of Academic Ability (SCA) for 16 Classes

Class Letter	Multiple R	F Ratios for the Dimension	F Ratios for Individual Variables*		
			SAT	SFT	SCA
A	.51	2.94	+ 1.86	- .32	+ 7.22
B	.49	1.72	- 1.91	+ 1.20	- 3.44
C	.127	.14	- .27	+ .05	+ .001
D	.28	.65	+ .14	+ .59	- .65
E	.38	1.05	- .01	- .00	- 2.85
F	.55	1.33	+ 2.5	- .60	+ 1.3
G	.29	.38	+ .28	- .04	+ .33
H	.35	.72	+ .01	- 1.75	+ 1.0
I	.27	.30	+ .33	- .34	+ .45
J	.42	1.09	- .001	+ 2.8	- .72
K	.61	1.59	- .1	- 4.17	- .25
L	.58	1.21	- .80	+ .34	+ 2.9
M	.28	.17	+ .4	+ .42	+ .29
N	.28	.23	+ .21	- .13	+ .37
O	.76	1.39	+ 3.10	- .30	+ 2.97
P	.54	1.74	+ 3.03	+ .68	- 1.44

* F Ratios which are underlined are significant at the .05 level or less.

on the whole appears only weakly related to student prejudice. More specific information is gained, however, by treating the three hypotheses separately.

In Hypothesis #2, prejudice was predicted to vary inversely with students' self concept of academic ability (SCA). The far right hand column on Table 3 shows the significant F ratios for the comparison of student prejudice (SDS) and SCA and reveals that three of the 16 classes contained relationships supporting the hypothesis, classes B, C, and P. This suggests that students of these classes who made least prejudiced judgements of races generally (SPS) also had the highest self concept of academic ability. Utilizing the Class Play Index as an indicator of prejudice (Table 4), two of the 16 classes were shown to have significant relationships, one which supports the hypothesis (class B) and one that does not (class A). One other class (class E) reveals an F ratio approaching the .05 significance level, and the relationship is in the direction predicted.

Summarizing results utilizing both indicators of prejudice, data indicate that in four of the five classes in which some association was found, students who were least prejudiced tended to have higher self concepts of academic ability, and vice-versa. Hypothesis #2 was supported in three of the 16 classes, and additional support was indicated in one more class in which a relationship approaching the required significance level was found. In one class, a significant relationship opposite of that predicted was found. In class B, support was indicated utilizing both indicators of prejudice.

The third hypothesis contended that prejudice in students will vary inversely with the extent to which students are satisfied with their class (SAT). Satisfaction, it will be remembered, was calculated by correlating students' classroom descriptions of the way they thought their class actually was with the way they would like it to be. Table 3 reveals that when prejudice is measured utilizing

the Social Distance Scale, satisfaction (SAT) is associated with prejudice in only two classes (A and J) to any significant degree. When the Class Play Index was utilized to indicate prejudice, no significant relationships were found, though in two classes (F and P) F ratios approaching significance were found. In contrast to results utilizing the SDS measure, these latter relationships show direct variation with prejudice (opposite of that predicted) indicating that those students who are most satisfied are also the most prejudiced.

Using both indicators of prejudice, then, satisfaction and prejudice are most highly associated in classes A, J, and P. It appears, therefore, that for the 16 classes generally, prejudice is not associated to any large extent with the degree to which students find their classes to their liking, with of course the three exceptions.

Hypothesis #4 posits a direct variation between prejudice and students' sense of futility (SFT) in their class. Prejudice as indicated by SDS (Table 3) is observed to vary inversely with sense of futility in class J and to be virtually unrelated to prejudice except by chance in the remaining 15 classes. In class J, futility appears to be lower among those who are least prejudiced, but this is the only class supporting this hypothesis. Using the Class Play Index as a measure of prejudice (Table 4), only one class, class K, revealed a significant relationship between the two variables in question; and the variation was opposite of that predicted. Because so few classes revealed significant relationships regardless of the measure used for prejudice, it must be concluded that for these 16 classes generally, sense of futility and prejudice are not strongly related.

In summary, for the dimension of student feelings of personal adequacy, prejudice as indicated by either the traditional measure of Social Distance or

the more situation oriented one of placing students in desired or undesired roles (CPI) does not appear to be significantly related to self concept of academic ability, satisfaction, or sense of futility to any large degree in these classes. The variable most strongly related to prejudice is that of self concept of academic ability, represented by significant relationships in 4 of the sixteen classes.

Hypotheses 5 - 7: Classroom Dimension of Student Performance

Student performance for the present study was defined by three variables: equality of participation among black and white students (PAR), extent to which black and white students chose to sit among each other (SET), and equality of black and white student achievement (ACH).

The first performance variable to be considered was that of equality of verbal participation (PAR) in black and white students and its relationship to mean level of prejudice across the sixteen classes. Each class was observed on two different occasions for the entire class periods, and the number of times that black and white students spoke was recorded and categorized. Tabulations of responses for each ethnic group were converted to a ratio of equality of participation, and based upon the two observations, each class was assigned a score. The mean level of prejudice was then regressed against the score for participation to test the prediction that these two variables should vary inversely (Hypothesis #5). Of the 16 classes, only 10 met the more strict criteria for this hypothesis that no ethnic group comprise more than 60% of the classroom population. For Hypothesis #5, therefore, a regression analysis was performed for these 10 classes alone. The results are shown in Table 5 for both the chosen 10 and the entire sixteen classes, and the significance levels for the F ratios are shown below the F values. In neither case was a significant relationship found.

The degree to which verbal participation is equal in those 16 classes among black and white students appears to be essentially unrelated to mean level of prejudice in each class, and Hypothesis #5 is rejected.

Hypothesis #6 predicted that mean level of student prejudice would vary inversely with the extent to which students of different race would choose to sit among each other. In the same observations of each class that yielded information concerning participation, seating positions of students were recorded. A seating score (SET) was determined by first summing the instances in which students of differing race were sitting next to each other. Because the number of opportunities to sit among members of a different race varied depending upon racial balance and physical seating arrangements, the final score assigned each class was obtained by dividing the tabulated score by the number of opportunities that existed for each classroom separately. It should be pointed out that in all classes, students chose where they wanted to sit.

Results from the regression of prejudice with "seating" are shown in Table 5. Utilizing SDS as a measure of prejudice, we observe that a highly significant inverse relationship was found between seating and the mean level of prejudice. Given a seating choice, those students in classes where the mean level of prejudice was high relative to the other classes did choose to sit more separately by race than did classes where the mean level of prejudice was relatively low. Hypothesis #6 is supported utilizing SDS as the prejudice indicator. Because the Class Play Index showed almost no relationship to students' choice of seating, data involving the CPI for this relationship do not support Hypothesis #6. This suggests that judgements of classmates (CPI) have less association to seating choice than judgements of races generally. (SDS)

Equality of achievement among black and white students within each class

Table 5

Multiple Regression of Student Prejudice (Social Distance, SDS and The Class Play, CPI) With the Dimension of Student Performance: Equality of Black and White Student Achievement (ACH), Extent to Which Students of Different Race Sat Among Each Other (SET), and Equality of Participation Between Black and White Students (PAR) For 16 Classes Collectively

Prejudice Indicator	Multiple R	F Ratio for the Dimension*	F Ratios for Individual Variables			PAR *** (10 classes)
			ACH	SET	PAR (16 classes)	
SDS	.732	4.63 (.01)	-4.99** (.01)	-11.65 (.001)	.01	1.01
CPI	.505	1.36	-3.54 (.05)	-.095	-1.09	- .22

* F values with significance levels below the number indicate that the relationship is significant at the .05 level or less.

** Negative sign indicates <u>inverse</u> relationship.

*** The 10 classes referred to above were analyzed separately because they contained a more equal ratio of black and white students (60%/40%). It is noted that the results are not significantly different if either the 10 classes or the 16 classes are considered.

was regressed against mean level of prejudice, and Hypothesis #7 posited that these two variables should vary inversely. Equality of achievement was determined by calculating the numerical gap that existed between the mean class grade point level for black and white students within each class, and assigning each class a score equal to the calculated difference. Results of the regression are shown in Table 5 and support the hypothesis utilizing both indicators of prejudice. The degree to which academic achievement is equal among black and white students as measured by class grades for these sixteen classes does appear to be strongly associated with the mean level of prejudice in these classes.

For the dimension of student performance as indicated by equality of achievement, seating choice, and equality of participation, strongest support is shown for the existence of an inverse relationship between equality of achievement and prejudice. Though not as strong as for achievement, support was also given for the existence of a relationship between students' choice of seating position and mean level of prejudice as measured by the SDS.

Little or no relationship was found between equality of participation and mean level of prejudice. These results indicate that mean level of prejudice (SDS) for these sixteen classes may be influenced by equality of achievement between black and white students and the degree to which black and white students sit among each other. Equality of achievement may also influence the way in which students judge their classmates (CPI). Equality of participation, on the other hand, appears to have little if any relationship to prejudice in these classes.

Hypotheses 8 - 9: Classroom Dimension of Teacher Rationale

Teacher Rationale is defined specifically for this study as a determination of the extent to which teachers place importance upon and attempt to institute

the working conditions of equal status, cooperation, and pursuit of common goals among their students. Teachers contributed this information in two different ways. First, they ranked the 24 ALP items in terms of how important the items were for their class and to what degree they tried to institute them. Six of the items were related specifically to the three working conditions mentioned above. Teachers were subsequently asked in an interview whether they felt these particular conditions were "very important," "important," "somewhat important," or "not important" for their students and whether as teachers they attempted "very strongly," "strongly," "somewhat strongly," or "not at all" to institute these conditions in their classes. Mean scores for both sets of responses were calculated and each was regressed with class mean scores of prejudice. As in earlier analyses, the most descriptive information is obtained from observing each condition as it relates to student prejudice. Results of the comparisons of the variation between prejudice and teachers' assessments of the three working conditions for their classes appear in Tables 6 - 9. Tables 6 and 7 display the F ratios determined from data involving teachers' responses to the ALP instrument, and Tables 8 and 9 concern information from teacher interviews. Hypotheses 8 and 9 predicted that mean level of prejudice in these classes would vary inversely with the extent to which teachers placed importance upon and attempted to institute the conditions of equal status, cooperation, and common goals.

Support for the hypotheses is gained if F ratios are sufficiently high to indicate significant relationships. As in earlier tables, those F ratios which are significant have their significance level included below the F value. In tables 6 and 7, one observes that the overall F ratios for the multiple R correlations are not high enough to be significant. It is observed, however, that the <u>importance</u> teachers place upon the "pursuit of common goals" (COG) among

students is associated somewhat strongly with student prejudice as measured by the SDS. The relationship is positive indicating that the mean level of prejudice is highest in those classes where teachers place least importance upon this condition. The condition of "equal status" appears to be related also to prejudice (SDS), but in a direction opposite to that predicted. That is, in classes where "equal status" is thought by the teacher to be of high importance, prejudice among students on the average is also higher. When the remaining aspect, importance placed upon "cooperation," is compared to mean level of prejudice, a very weak, if not chance determined, relationship is observed.

Prejudice, as measured by the Class Play Index (Table 6), shows almost no relation to the importance teachers place upon the conditions of "equal status," "cooperation," or "common goals." Prejudice as determined by assessments of one's own classmates, therefore, appears not to be associated with teachers' concerns with the three conditions in question.

For hypothesis #9, which proposed that an inverse relationship exists between mean level of student prejudice and teachers' attempts to institute the stated three conditions, no significant relationships were found utilizing either of the two measures of prejudice (Table 7). These results suggest that teachers, for whatever reason, do not appear to treat these conditions in coincidence with the importance (or lack of importance) they ascribe to them. While the importance attributed to these conditions by teachers appears to relate to prejudice in some manner, the degree to which teachers attempt to institute them does not.

As seen in Tables 8 and 9, a somewhat different picture is obtained when "importance" and "attempts" are measured from interview responses. While no significant relationship was found between prejudice and the importance placed upon the condition of "equal status," significant relationships were found for the

Table 6

Regression of Student Prejudice (SDS and CPI) With The Importance Teachers Placed Upon the Classroom Working Conditions of Equal Status(EQS), Cooperation (COP) and Pursuit of Common Goals (COG) In Their Class As Indicated by the ALP Instrument

Prejudice Indicator	Multiple R	F Ratio for the Dimension	F Ratios for Individual Variables		
			COG	COP	EQS
SDS	.57	1.93	(+) 3.52 (sig. at .05)	1.02	(-) 3.69 (sig. at .05)
CPI	.21	.18	.075	.31	.05

*A positive relationship indicates an inverse variation with prejudice. Conditions are designated more important with a lower number score (rank order).

Table 7

Regression of Student Prejudice (SDS and CPI) With The Degree to Which Teachers Attempted to Institute Working Conditions of Equal Status (EQS), Cooperation (COP), and Pursuit of Common Goals (COG) In Their Class As Indicated by the ALP Instrument

Prejudice Indicator	Multiple R	F Ratio for the Dimension	F Ratios for Individual Variables		
			COG	COP	EQS
SDS	.47	1.18	.003	1.09	1.22
CPI	.24	.25	.000	.07	.13

*A positive relationship indicates an inverse variation with prejudice. Conditions are designated more important with a lower number score (rank order).

Table 8

Regression of Student Prejudice (SDS and CPI) With The Importance Teachers Placed Upon the Working Conditions of Equal Status (EQS), Cooperation (COP), and Pursuit of Common Goals (COG) In Their Class As Indicated by Teacher Interview Responses

Prejudice Indicator	Multiple R	F Ratio for the Dimension	F Ratios for Individual Variables		
			COG	COP	EQS
SDS	.817	8.05 (sig.=.01)	(-) 5.74 (sig.=.01)	(+) 3.88 (sig.=.05)	.606
CPI	.598	2.23	(-) 4.28 (sig.=.025)	(+) 3.88 (sig.=.05)	.274

*A negative relationship indicates an inverse variation with prejudice. Importance is greater if the number score is higher (rating).

Table 9

Regression of Student Prejudice (SDS and CPI) With The Degree to Which Teachers Attempted to Institute Working Conditions of Equal Status (EQS), Cooperation (COP), and Common Goals (COG) In Their Class As Indicated by Teacher Interview Responses

Prejudice Indicator	Multiple R	F Ratio for the Dimension	F Ratios for Individual Variables		
			COG	COP	EQS
SDS	.684	3.53 (sig.=.05)	(-) 8.08 (sig.=.01)	(+) 7.62 (sig.=.01)	.42
CPI	.24	.245	.58	.16	.01

*A negative relationship indicates an inverse variation with prejudice. Importance is greater if the number score is higher (rating).

conditions of "cooperation" and "common goals" among students. The degree of importance placed by teachers upon "cooperation" in their class was found to vary directly with the mean level of prejudice. This strongly suggests that prejudice was higher in those classes in which teachers placed higher importance upon "cooperation," and this contradicts what was predicted in hypothesis #8. On the other hand, prejudice was found to vary inversely, as predicted, with the importance placed upon the "pursuit of common goals" among students. In short, the mean level of prejudice appears to be lower in those classes where teachers believe that the "pursuit of common goals" is important. This relationship is given more credibility in this instance by the strong agreement observed between both measures of prejudice (SDS and CPI).

In terms of teachers' attempts to institute these conditions in their classes (Table 9), similar and stronger relationships were found between prejudice (as measured by the SDS) and the attempts to institute "cooperation" and "common goals." A strong emphasis on "cooperation" was matched again by a high level of prejudice. No significant relationships were found, however, when the CPI was used for determining prejudice.

In utilizing both methods for determining the importance and attempts to institute certain working conditions, some similar and some different results emerged. The most marked similarity is in the relationship found between the importance placed upon "common goals" and measures of student prejudice. Both in the interview responses and in teachers' responses to the ALP, the treatment of this condition varied inversely with mean level of prejudice (SDS and CPI) as predicted in hypothesis #8. This becomes more interesting when we recall that students' ratings of the characteristicness of "pursuit of common goals" were found to vary with prejudice quite differently from one class to another. While

it is probable that students' perceptions of the class are influenced by the teacher's emphasis upon what is most important, this influence is apparently not strong enough to be generally reflected in the particular analysis performed earlier on student responses. While means of classes were utilized for hypotheses #8 and #9, and in this way differ from the regressions involving individual student responses, one still might expect a more salient relationship between students' perceptions and teachers' intentions generally.

The differences in results of teachers' ALP responses and interview responses concern the remaining conditions, "equal status" and "cooperation." A significant relationship between "cooperation" and prejudice was found to exist only in the interview analysis, and it was in a direction opposite of that predicted. While no relationship was found between equal status and prejudice when utilizing teacher interview responses, a weak relationship was established when ALP responses were used. Most confidence must be given to the relationships shown to exist utilizing both methods. However, the relationships found by one or the other methods are also strongly suggestive.

In terms of the hypotheses within the dimension of Teacher Rationale, support is given only for certain parts of the hypotheses, those named above, and certain aspects of teacher rationale appear to be associated in a manner opposite to that predicted. We have as yet to examine further how such emphases are interpreted by students and to attempt to spell out how such a result comes about.

Summary

The present inquiry was guided by a set of hypotheses which asked if prejudice as measured by the two chosen indicators was significantly related to a number of different classroom dimensions. The dimensions were represented by

particular variables, and tests of significance concerning the variation between prejudice and these variables were performed. The Social Distance Scale and the Class Play Index, as indicators of prejudice, were expected to measure different aspects of the broad concept of prejudice. The data tend to support the expectation that these do indicate different aspects of prejudice.

In part, the intention of the analyses was to see if prejudice did indeed relate to the dimensions per se, and this was to be determined by a multiple R correlation of prejudice as it compared to the variables jointly. With the exception of the dimension of Teacher Rationale, significant multiple R correlations for the relationships between either of the measures of prejudice and the dimensions were not found. As was evident, however, even where there was a significant multiple R, the breakdown of the variance into its proportional shares among the variables within each dimension offered more useful information, and it is these individual relationships, therefore, which constitute the substance of the findings.

For the dimension of student perceptions of working conditions, prejudice was found to relate to the conditions of "equal status," "cooperation," and "common goals" in only a minority of the classes. Six of the sixteen classes revealed a significant relationship between prejudice and at least one of the conditions. If these relationships can be interpreted as suggestive of those aspects most likely to be related to prejudice generally, then prejudice appears to be most strongly related to the "pursuit of common goals" in these classes, though the direction of the relationship varies from class to class. In that "pursuit of common goals" was a condition that teachers also emphasized most strongly in their classes, it is possible that teachers influence in some manner the way in which students perceive this particular condition.

Although very few significant relationships were found between "equal status" and prejudice, a number of classes revealed rather high F Ratios for this relationship (not quite achieving the chosen level of significance), and in almost every case, the relationship was in the direction predicted. In light of this, it is tentatively suggested that in classes where "equal status" tends to be a factor of importance, it appears likely that it will vary inversely with prejudice. The condition which appears to be least associated with prejudice is that of "cooperation" among students. In only two cases was there a significant relationship found. However, in both cases, the relationships were as predicted. The fact that there are so few other cases where F values are of any magnitude reduces the confidence in the representativeness of these two cases.

A paucity of significant relationships also is characteristic of the dimension of students' personal feelings of adequacy. The aspect of self concept of academic ability appears to be most strongly associated with prejudice, and in four of the five classes in which significant relationships were found, the relationships supported the hypothesis of inverse variation. In only two classes was student satisfaction strongly related to prejudice, and it is difficult to perceive how this may be representative based upon these data alone. Sense of futility was found to be somewhat highly associated to prejudice in only two classes and oppositely in each class. Based upon data from these sixteen classes it would have to be concluded that there is little evidence to support the contention that prejudice is itself influenced by students' sense of futility or satisfaction. It is tentatively suggested, however, that prejudice may be associated to self concept of academic ability as indicated to some degree in about half of these classes.

In the third dimension of student performance, the classroom variables of equality of participation between black and white students, extent to which black and white students sit among each other, and equality of black and white student achievement were predicted to vary inversely with mean level of prejudice. In the determination of the equality of participation, only those classes in which the racial balance was 60%/40% or less were used. Regressions with either indicator of prejudice revealed no significant relationship, and from these data it appears that equality of participation does not relate to any strong degree to mean level of prejudice in these classes.

Seating patterns, on the other hand, were found to relate strongly to prejudice as measured by the Social Distance Scale. This indicates that students' general assessments of other races, in particular, of blacks and whites, are strongly associated with seating choice. Using the Class Play Index as a prejudice indicator, however, no significant relationship was found. In contrast to the Social Distance Scale, it appears that personal assessments of one's own classmates (CPI) had little association with seating choice. What must be considered in light of the two different findings is the time when seating choices were made and the mobility of students in the classrooms. The above contrast would indeed make sense if seating choices were made earlier in the year before classmates knew each other very well and if students tended to remain in the original seats they had chosen.

Equality of achievement level as determined by class grades was found to be significantly related to prejudice, and more consistently than in the other two aspects above in that both indicators of prejudice were involved. That is, equality of achievement appears to vary inversely with the mean level of prejudice when prejudice is measured by either students' general assessments of races (SDS) or

individual assessments of their own classmates (CPI).

In the fourth dimension of teacher rationale, mean level of student prejudice was predicted to vary inversely with the importance teachers placed upon the three working conditions and the degree to which they attempted to institute these conditions in their classrooms. When teachers' assessments of importance and attempts to institute these conditions were determined by their responses to the ALP instrument, the extent to which they placed importance upon "pursuit of common goals" related significantly to mean level of prejudice in their classes as indicated by Social Distance. No relationship was found between prejudice and "cooperation" and for the importance placed upon the condition of "equal status," a significant relationship opposite to that predicted was found. No relationships were found beween student prejudice by either indicator and teachers' attempts to institute these conditions. From these data it appears that prejudice may be influenced by the extent to which teachers place importance upon students pursuing common goals and viewing each other's status as equal. However, prejudice is seen to vary inversely with the stress upon "common goals" predicted and directly with the stress placed upon "equal status," opposite of predicted.

When importance and attempts to institute conditions were determined from interview responses, results were both similar and different to those determined by the ALP. ALP responses concerning the importance placed upon "common goals" were born out in interview responses; "common goals" were indeed found to vary significantly and inversely with mean level of prejudice (CPI and SDS).

Differences were found in the relationships involving the other two conditions. No significant relationships were found between mean level of prejudice of students and the condition of "equal status." Significant relationships were found, however, between the <u>importance placed</u> upon "cooperation" and mean level

of prejudice as indicated by both measures. Teachers' attempts to institute "co-operation" were found also to relate significantly to mean level of prejudice (SDS only). In both cases involving cooperation, however, the relationships were positive indicating that importance and attempts to institute these conditions appear to have a negative affect upon prejudice; that is, mean level of prejudice was higher in those classes where "cooperation" was stressed.

Conclusions Based Upon These Results

From these results, it is observed that some hypotheses were supported and others were not supported by these data, and that some significant relationships were found which were opposite to what was predicted. For hypothesis #1, the variation between student prejudice within the class and students' perceptions of the characteristicness of the three working conditions appears to be associated in only a few cases. The same holds true for the personal adequacy indicators of self concept of academic ability, sense of futility, and satisfaction (hypothesis #2 - #4). Of these, the aspects most strongly related are the condition of "pursuit of common goals" and students' self concept of academic ability. It is concluded generally, however, that student prejudice does not relate strongly to either of these classroom dimensions.

Viewing the classes collectively, we find stronger relationships and more support for hypotheses 5 - 9. Equality of achievement and degree to which students sit among each other was found to relate strongly to mean level of prejudice for at least one indicator of prejudice. The strongest relationship and most consistent one was found between equality of achievement and mean level of prejudice. Equality of participation did not appear to be related to mean level of prejudice. For students in these classes, therefore, it is concluded, that of

these three aspects, equality of achievement between black and white students is most strongly related to student prejudice, that choice of seating is related, but to a lesser degree, and that equality of participation among black and white students is not related to mean levels of student prejudice.

Taking both methods of determining teacher rationale as indicative of relationships between student prejudice and the importance and attempts to institute the three working conditions in the classroom, the conditions of "equal status" and "cooperation" appear to be related to mean level of prejudice, but in a direction opposite of that predicted. Emphasis upon these conditions did not appear to influence "positively" the level of prejudice. However, the strongest indication of a condition which influences prejudice was found in the importance placed upon and in the attempts to institute the condition of "common goals" among students. Mean level of prejudice was found to vary in opposition to the stress placed upon this condition, and again, this supported the prediction for this aspect for these classes.

Chapter VI

Implications

A determination of how student prejudice relates to a number of different classroom variables has been the primary intention of this study, and thus, aspects which have been identified as potentially influencial to levels of prejudice in students comprise the important findings. Within each of the four classroom dimensions, certain aspects stand out above the others, and for the dimension of classroom working conditions, it was the condition of "pursuit of common goals." In five of the sixteen classes, this related significantly to at least one of the measures of prejudice, and the sign of the variation changed from class to class.

From the dimension of teacher rationale, "common goals" also emerged as the aspect most consistently related to student prejudice. In comparison to the other conditions of "equal status" and "cooperation", it is possible that "common goals" is a condition that is more easily regulated by the teacher. For those wishing to "treat" student prejudice in some manner, the aspect of "common goals" among class members presents itself as a factor to explore for its bearing upon students' racial judgements and may represent a place to begin the process of attempting to deal with the problem of prejudice in classrooms.

From the dimension of personal adequacy, self concept of academic ability was found to be most often related to prejudice. Although only identified as such in a minority of classes, a related aspect - academic achievement - was identified as potentially important in the performance dimension where equality of achievement levels of black and white students were found to relate strongly to mean level of prejudice in classes. In addition to common goals, therefore, the general aspect of achievement, which in this case specifically involves how one views his ability to achieve relative to others and how this is born out in

the classroom, appears to be a factor of importance in racially mixed classes, one that teachers need to become aware of.

From findings involving achievement levels alone, one might be tempted to suggest a lessening of the gap in achievement between black and white students for the purpose of decreasing prejudice, even at the possible expense of lowering achievement standards or of decreasing overall student achievement levels. However, the inverse relationship between student prejudice of self concept of academic ability identified in some of the classes mediates against this notion. Students' self concept of academic ability was measured utilizing comparisons of one's own ability with the ability of persons beyond his or her own classroom and also involved questions related to high standards of occupational accomplishment. This suggests that a closing of the gap in achievement levels between black and white students may be fruitless in its effects on prejudice without also maintaining high standards by which one's own achievement can be assessed.

Also within the dimension of performance, the extent to which black and white students sat among each other in classes was found to relate strongly to general assessment of races (SDS), but not to individual judgements of classmates (CPI). This indicates that in classes where students chose to sit apart racially, the level of prejudice (SDS) was higher than in classes where they chose to sit interracially, but that level of prejudice towards classmates did not appear to be associated with this aspect. Teachers who wish to promote interracial activity among students may ask themselves if they should insist or should avoid insisting that black and white students sit among each other. These findings appear to indicate that an impact may be made on students' general assessments of races by changing the degree of interracial seating in classes. What

is not accounted for, however, is the possible effect of encouraging or mandating that black and white students sit next to each other on classroom levels of prejudice. That is, would the insistance that black and white students sit next to each other have its own impact on prejudice?

A possible indicator of what effect this might have concerns an additional finding involving the classroom condition of "cooperation". Mean level of prejudice towards races generally (SDS) and towards individuals (CPI) was found to vary directly with the importance teachers placed upon the condition of "cooperation". The degree to which teachers attempted to institute the condition of "cooperation" in these classes varied directly with general assessments of races (SDS). This implies that if "cooperation" is stressed by the teacher, it may fail to have a positive impact on prejudice (a decrease), and that it may in fact have the effect of fostering prejudice. If one expression in classrooms of the importance placed upon and attempts to institute "cooperation" is mandatory racially mixed seating, this may also have a negative effect on the classroom level of prejudice. This may suggest that seating varies inversely with level of prejudice if students are allowed choice of seating, but probably will not if most initiative is taken by the teacher. Teachers who desire integrated seating for the possible decrease which may result in the classroom level of student prejudice, may have better results if students' choice is somehow built into the seating process. An opportunity plus some incentive to change seats might be offered periodically to students, for example, by the teacher without a direct mandate for change. Other approaches to build in the aspect of choice would be possible.

Combining the results from the sixteen involved classes, certain aspects are suggested as most strongly related to prejudice: students' perceptions of

the existence of "common goals" within the class and teachers' attempts to institute this condition; students' self concept of academic ability and the equality of black and white student achievement levels; the extent to which students sit among each other interracially and the extent to which teachers place importance upon and attempt to institute the condition of "cooperation." For those who would wish to decrease levels of prejudice in students within racially mixed classrooms, these findings suggest the following: that common goals should be fostered among students and that a direct role for the institution of such a condition should be taken by the teacher; that self concept of academic ability be increased and that the gap in achievement level between different racial groups be decreased while still adhering to high academic standards; and that racially mixed seating patterns among black and white students be fostered in integrated classes with the stipulation that such attempts to institute cooperation not be mandated by the teacher, but include and encourage student initiative toward that end.

Chapter VII

Validity of Results

Given that the instruments employed in this study were for the most part products of past research and have been used in prior research projects, their validity and reliability as instruments are not in question. In any study involving self report data, however, one always runs some risk of misinterpretation of language or questions, of persons answering questions in a way that they think they should or believe is appropriate rather than how they really feel or believe at the time, and of persons not taking the questions or tasks seriously or giving the needed amount of thought to their responses. Validity of the data obtained is strongly challenged if these problems are not avoided for the most part or overcome in some other way. To obtain an estimate of the extent to which such problems existed with the present data, the following steps were taken. All teachers and a sample of four students from each class were interviewed at the conclusion of the data gathering period. Teachers were asked if, while observing their students responding to the instruments, they felt students gave honest and straightforward answers? The response to this question was an unqualified "yes" for 10 of the 16 classes. For the other six classes, responses indicated that most of the students took the task seriously, but that a few of the students probably did not. None of the teachers felt that a significant portion of their students did not answer honestly or seriously from what they could observe. When teachers were asked if they had additional comments, suggestions, or insights concerning the study, many teachers inquired further as to the nature of the intended results, discussed their class in greater detail, and in general clarified items that they had stated or alluded to earlier. None of the teachers expressed negative opinions or feelings

as a result of the study or expressed severe doubts or skepticism concerning instruments or techniques involved in the data collection.

In summary, most teachers felt their students answered seriously, and most believed their students would give honest answers under the existing circumstances of the "testing" situation. Two teachers reported experiencing minor defensiveness or reluctance in answering the questions, yet none offered derogatory statements concerning the study or its processes. One would conclude from the opinions of the involved teachers, therefore, that in general the instruments used were appropriate, were not confusing to students or teachers, and were not answered falsely.

At the conclusion of the data gathering period, students were asked to volunteer to answer a few questions concerning the study. Four students were selected from each class (two black and two white students), and each responded to six questions, the last of which merely asked for additional comments. Each of the questions asked for a "yes" or "no" answer with room for comment, and students could choose to either write out their comments and answers or to answer them verbally. Each response was assigned a number 1, 2 or 3. Number 1 was assigned negative responses, ones that would question the validity of the instrument data, and number 3 was given to those supporting the validity. Number 2 was assigned those responses which were only somewhat negative. For each student, an average rating for the first 5 questions was calculated, and then a mean of the responses for four students was obtained yielding a score for each class. These average scores appear in Table 10 for each class along with an average for each school and a total validity score obtained from the means of all classes. The five questions which were asked students appear below the summary scores.

Table 10

Validity Scores Based Upon Student Interviews

Class Letter	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
Class Score	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.3	2.2	2.8	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.9	2.7	2.5	2.8

School Number	1	2	3
School Score	2.5	2.8	2.8

Total Validity Score = 2.64

The above class validity scores are based upon responses to five interview questions from four students in each of the 16 classes (A through P). Each question received a maximum of three points and a minimum of one point. A mean score for the five questions was calculated for each student, and then a mean of the four students was calculated yielding a mean validity score for each class. These are reported as class scores above. The school scores were computed by averaging the class scores for the classes existing in one school, and the total score represents a mean of all the class scores. A maximum of "3.0" is possible indicating that all students' responses indicated that data was valid. A score of "2.0" indicates "somewhat valid" and a score of "1.0" indicates data is "not valid."

Interview Questions (paraphrased)

1) Generally, did you have any trouble or problems understanding the instructions, language used, or how you were supposed to answer the questionnaires?

2) Were any specific questionnaires "bad" or inappropriate in your opinion?

3) Do you personally feel that you answered honestly and seriously the questions on the questionnaires, or did you tend to answer as you were expected to?

4) Do you believe that most of your classmates took the questions seriously and answered honestly?

5) Do you feel that there were any problems with the questionnaires which may tend to make the information given by students inaccurate?

Table 10 shows that students' scores are 2.5 or higher in 14 of the sixteen classes. This indicates that the large majority of students gave responses to the interview questions deserving of a rating of "3" and indicating high validity. A minority of students responded in a manner indicating moderate validity (2), and a small minority indicated low validity (1). From these responses, it can generally be concluded that students who were interviewed understood the tasks asked of them, that they for the most part took this task seriously and answered honestly, and that they did not react negatively to the activity to the extent that it greatly influenced their answers.

It is the opinion of the interviewer that the responses from both teachers and students were indeed straightforward and sincere. Persons were guaranteed anonymity, they were encouraged to express both positive and negative feelings concerning the study, and most appeared quite willing to participate and respond. Combining these results with the fact that most of the instruments have been proven worthy in past research, it is the overall conclusion that the data gathered for this study are sufficiently valid and reliable for purposes of this study.

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